

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

FRANK H. T. RHODES
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED

APR 3 1978

PRESIDENT'S
OFFICE

March 29, 1978

President Robben W. Fleming
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

Dear Bob:

Thank you so much for your helpful letter of March 22, and for your very comprehensive description of the South African issue on the campus. I am most grateful for the time you took to write so carefully about the way the situation developed, as well as the final outcome.

We expect the issue to come to something of a head during the next two months. I am skeptical that it will develop into a major confrontation. Like you, we have a group of people on campus who are strongly committed to divestiture, but it is difficult to believe that they can mobilize massive student support.

Rosa joins me in sending our fond good wishes to you and Sally.

Sincerely yours,



Frank H. T. Rhodes

March 22, 1978

President Frank H. T. Rhodes
Cornell University
300 Day Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853

Dear Frank:

Thanks for the information you sent about South Africa. It arrived the day before we were bringing the question before the Regents for decision.

I am enclosing the report of the Communications Committee (which was unsolicited since our Bylaw does not provide for it), the official report of the Senate Assembly Group, which was charged with writing a report, the criticism of the Senate Assembly report by the Washtenaw County Agency Against Apartheid, which appears to be dominated by the left, and the document which the Regents approved last Thursday.

While there has been a good deal of talk about the issue all year, it has been fairly obvious that the actual number of students committed to this cause has been quite small. When the Communications Committee sponsored a series of forums, there were probably never more than 250 students in attendance, and on some of the occasions no more than 50. Of the total group, a reasonable number came from either the Student Revolutionary Brigade, or the Spartacus Youth League, both of whose views I need not explain further to you. Though I think the Communications Committee made a bona fide effort to get both sides of the controversy presented, as it turned out the forums were heavily biased towards those who favored apartheid, and particularly those organizations which are most militant about it. I suspect the principal reason for this was the reluctance of others who held more moderate views to accept the abuse which would inevitably be heaped upon them by the more activist organizations.

We finally brought the whole thing to a head last Thursday by scheduling an all afternoon hearing in the ballroom of the Union. We placed about 250 chairs in the ballroom, and not all of them were filled. In addition, about half of the audience was composed of interested University officials at one level or another, or just people who wanted to see what would go on. There were a total of 17 speakers, all of whom devoted their remarks to divestiture. Once again, the more moderate views were totally unrepresented; in my judgement, once again because they did not want to subject themselves to the hissing, booing, and general harassment which would inevitably take place.

President Frank H. T. Rhodes
March 22, 1978
Page 2

Because of the Open Meetings Act it is now difficult for me to know just where the Regents are in advance of discussion of an issue, but in this case we gave them a chance to work out a solution by sending out our general endorsement of the Senate Assembly report and suggesting that unless they had other ideas, we would recommend its approval "in principle". As it turned out, they did not want to go quite as far as the Senate Assembly report, but they were agreeable to having me make a statement that the administration would endorse the report as a general proposition. As a result of knowing this in advance, I said in my introductory remarks at the hearing that after the various speakers had been heard, I would propose to the Regents that they endorse the Senate Assembly report. I did that deliberately, of course, so that the speakers would not claim at the end of their remarks that they had been fouled by not knowing in advance where we were going to be. I had assumed that once I made that announcement there would be a considerable amount of hissing and booing, but for some strange reason there wasn't any.

Since the 17 speakers had as much as 10 minutes each, the whole thing took about three hours. It went off reasonably well, and the crowd was quite well-behaved. After they finished we took a short break, during which the Regents polished up among themselves and agreed upon the attached resolution which Tom Roach had drafted the day before. Once the discussion began there were a few amendments by other Regents, and at that point it went through. All of the Regents voted for it, despite some reservations on the part of Deane Baker. Jim Waters was immediately besieged by a Black contingent who were very angry with him and gave him a rather nasty going over. He took it quite well, although they seemed particularly outraged that he had not participated in the debate.

We had anticipated that there might be some effort to disrupt the Regents' meeting on Friday morning, but we returned to the Regents' room for the regular meeting, and in fact there was hardly anybody there throughout the whole public meeting. Just at noon there had been a rally called on the Diag to protest the decision, and perhaps 100 students then marched around campus and through the Union chanting "UM out". The group appears to be the same hard core that has pressed the issue throughout, but it has not so far gained any real strength.

Those who insist that the University divest itself of African investments have vowed that they will continue the pressure until they are successful, and I have no doubt that there will be efforts to continue with their program. I doubt very much that they can mobilize any significant student enthusiasm for it.

Incidentally, in connection with the South African investments, the attached column appeared in the Michigan Daily by one of our Associate

President Frank H. T. Rhodes
March 22, 1978
Page 3

Professors of Geography, and I then answered it. The answer appeared to pretty well quiet any further attacks, although he did appear among the 17 speakers and reiterated some of his claims.

The South African thing is, of course, a touchy issue. Divestiture would not trouble me, although I do not believe the Regents could be persuaded to vote for it, and in any event I have real doubt that it would do any good. Some of the groups who press so hard for it do so because they believe it will bring on the revolution. I see nothing in the history of emerging African nations, and I watch them, to suggest that if there is a revolution there will be very much concern of human rights of either Blacks or Whites. So I do not see a revolution as the answer, and if that is what divestiture is supposed to produce, I have great difficulty endorsing such a move.

I doubt that much more will happen here on this issue because, as you well remember, we will be into final examinations within about a month and I think the issue may go over for another year.

Give our love to Rosa, and we hope life is proceeding in a pleasant manner for both of you.

Sincerely,

R. W. Fleming

ph

Enclosures

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

FRANK H. T. RHODES
PRESIDENT

March 13, 1978

RECEIVED

MAR 15 1978

PRESIDENT'S
OFFICE

Dr. Robben W. Fleming
President
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Dear Bob:

Just a brief note about South Africa which continues to keep life interesting, here as well as elsewhere. With this letter I enclose two papers that might be of some interest to you. The first is a letter that our Investment Committee has sent out to twenty-five or so major companies doing business in South Africa, in which we have major holdings. The second paper is a statement by Peter Duignan, Curator of the African and Middle Eastern collections at the Hoover Institution of Stanford.

I shall be interested to know how the issue goes at Michigan.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Frank H. T. Rhodes

Enclosures

30 Wall Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

February 27, 1978

Mr. R. O. Anderson, Chairman
Atlantic Richfield Company
515 So. Flower Street
Los Angeles, California 90071

Dear Mr. Anderson:

The issue of South Africa and of the responsibilities of corporations doing business there is most difficult and complex. Members of Cornell's Board of Trustees, as well as the Cornell campus community, have viewed the South Africa government's policy of apartheid and racial prejudice with increasing concern. It is this that prompts us, as shareholders in your corporation, to write to you.

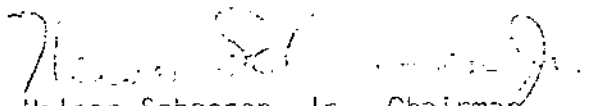
We applaud the efforts of those companies that are working to improve the lot of their non-white employees in South Africa. We especially support their endeavors to provide equal opportunity for selection and promotion to positions at all levels, to provide training and educational programs to improve the skills of all workers, to guarantee equal pay for equal work and collective bargaining rights for all workers, and to overcome the barriers which confront non-white workers in South African society and industry. We welcome programs developed by corporations to promote effective and continuing communication with their shareholders on these matters.

We know that many U.S. corporations with South African operations have an impressive record of leadership and achievement in progressive employment practices. This letter, therefore, reflects not our criticism, but rather our concern.

It is not our intention to suggest detailed programs to implement these goals. However, we do urge you to treat the goals seriously and, in whatever way you find possible, to work for the improvement of the majority population in South Africa.

We believe that American corporations with affiliates operating in South Africa have a special and heavy responsibility to follow operating policies that will encourage and promote the economic and social rights of non-whites in South Africa. For this reason, we would very much appreciate hearing from you about the operating procedures and practices of your corporation in South Africa, as they relate to the objectives set forth above.

Sincerely yours,


Nelson Schaenen, Jr., Chairman
Cornell University
Investment Committee

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT: Bob Beyers

EDITORS: Text available on request. Details follow asterisks.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STANFORD —

"Hopes for a violent overthrow of the South African regime either by foreign invasion or by guerrilla assaults belong in the realm of military fantasy," according to Peter Duignan, curator of the African and Middle Eastern collections at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University.

Duignan has helped Hoover acquire the world's finest collection of historical materials on the South African resistance. He commissioned a recently published, highly acclaimed four-volume study of the resistance from 1880 to 1974 (*From Protest to Challenge*, Hoover Institution Press).

Duignan spoke with numerous government officials and critics in South Africa seven months ago. His conclusions contrast starkly with those most often reported in national and international media.

"American interests, political and humanitarian, would be best served by the kind of 'convergence' diplomacy so many liberals advocate with regard to the Soviet Union," he says. "We should quietly press for improvements in return for economic favors.

"We should extend, rather than diminish, academic, cultural, athletic, diplomatic, and economic contacts with South Africa. We should be conciliatory in tone and firm in intention.

"Quiet pressure for change, the gradual ending of apartheid, more education and job opportunities for blacks and coloureds, more self-government for urban blacks, and more democracy in the homelands—these are attainable goals.

"Quiet diplomacy will achieve more than will harangues in Congress or the United Nations. The Carter-Mondale-Young approach has hardened white resolve in South Africa, encouraged blacks to unrealistic expectations, and destroyed the middle ground of discussion and compromise.

"Public pressure on the Soviet Union has not won many concessions from Brezhnev; it failed to make the Turks cooperate over Cyprus; and it is unlikely to make Vorster more conciliatory.

* * *

"The difficulties in applying morality to diplomacy are many. Few governments outside of Western Europe and North America are democratic. Few governments are moral or just, or rule for the benefit of their people.

"If you do not deal with Chile, you can hardly deal with any communist regime. Stop talking to South Africans because of their racial policies and you have to stop talking to half the nations of the world who oppress their minorities, their political opposition, their religious bodies, or persons who own property.

"The list is long. A self-denying ordinance on moral judgments should regulate the relations between states.

"Similarly, it is not reasonable to use economic boycotts as a means of conducting international relations. The history of blockades and sanctions shows nothing but failure.

"The tiny white minority of Rhodesia has not been seriously hurt by world blockade and sanctions imposed on it. It has survived since 1964, defeated all invasions, and indeed prospered. Cuba has survived the U.S. economic blockade.

"South Africa is a much more formidable nation than either Rhodesia or Cuba, and South Africa has goods the world needs."

"We should try to accelerate change through increased, not lessened, foreign investment in South Africa. By pouring in vast sums of money, the economy would expand so rapidly that there would be more funds for government services for all and a greater need for skilled workers than could be supplied by the white population.

"White trade unions would allow the blacks to enter the skilled trades, for example, if there were more jobs than whites could handle. This has happened informally in South Africa in recent years: blacks now dominate industries that a few years ago excluded them—garments, railroads, post office, mining, building industries, and motor repairs.

"The Carter Administration has taken a very different line because it is highly moralistic and it mistakes South Africa for Georgia. It has given unequivocal support to majority rule in South Africa, though not to that of any other member of the Second or Third World.

"The Transkei has been refused recognition. There has been a tightened arms embargo on South Africa. U.S. corporations are being pressured, and so forth.

"Yet this policy of harassment has failed in the past. It will fail in the future, with a resultant hardening of white rule over blacks, Indians, and coloreds. Vorster's regime arrested 600 people in the week after the U.N. imposed a tougher boycott on arms for South Africa.

"American investments in South Africa occupy too small a place—18% of foreign investment—in the nation's economy to be a major bargaining counter. Divestment can only be a symbolic act; it cannot seriously harm the economy.

"South Africa today generates the bulk of its own capital and even exports it. Past restrictions on American arms sales have not only deprived the U.S. of a market, but also have forced South Africa to develop a major arms industry of its own, in cooperation with the French.

"An American trade embargo on South Africa is not likely to succeed. The balance of trade is in favor of the U.S., rather than the reverse. What America supplies, moreover, can be obtained from other sources, whereas the U.S. needs South Africa's minerals.

"Formal trade embargoes have been widely violated by many African states, which have \$1.5 billion in trade with South Africa. Embargoes are not more likely to succeed than were U.N. attempts to bring Rhodesia to its knees or American attempts to coerce Cuba.

"A peaceful but imperfect solution for South Africa is preferable to trying to get a perfect solution by violent means. The U.S. is not likely to give military support to blacks in their effort to overthrow the whites. Yet by our diplomacy we have alienated the whites, and we will alienate the blacks when we fail to support their war of liberation against Pretoria.

"Nothing short of armed intervention by a major power in support of African nationalists can achieve the formula of 'one man, one vote.' So why insist on it?

"Who wants a bloody war in South Africa? Why, after our Vietnam experience, have we adopted a moral interventionist stance?

"The West would be ill served by turning South Africa into yet another Angola, where the whites fled or were expelled, and where a civil war continues to rage.

"Furthermore, if we want peaceful transfers of power in Rhodesia and Namibia, we have to have the cooperation of South Africa. Otherwise those two countries will continue to be torn by wars of national liberation.

"South Africa, for all its restrictions, is a great deal more free than Cuba or Russia or China, not to mention a score of African countries. Consider the murderous regimes in Uganda, Ethiopia, Burundi, and Equatorial Guinea.

"It is surely inconsistent to argue that the Soviet Union should be rendered more amenable to Western values by a policy of trade and detente, but that such a policy should not be applied to South Africa.

"There is little evidence that convergence is working vis-a-vis the Soviets." There is some evidence that South Africa is changing, is indeed offering more rights and better conditions to its people. The colored and Indians are being offered their own parliaments; petty apartheid is being dismantled.

"South African ethnic policies deserve criticism. But by comparison with the ethnic mass expulsions that have taken place in the Soviet Union or in postwar Eastern Europe, or by comparison with the troubles that have recently beset multiethnic countries like Lebanon, Iraq, or Cyprus, the South Africans have not done badly, even if we include the recent rounds of detentions, arrests, and bannings.

(more)

South Africa 3- 3- 3-

"Part of South Africa's problem is that most of its acts of aggression are reported fully, where such things are not often reported in African dictatorships or in communist countries.

"Where in the communist world would the death of a political prisoner have been criticized in the press and have led the state to make public its autopsy report and to have a public hearing question the secret police? Yet that was done in South Africa after the death of Steve Biko.

"South Africa has yet to engage in mass liquidations, punitive or prophylactic, such as were common in communist lands. South Africa is, ironically, a more liberal country than the majority of those that fill the U.N. with their clamor. It has fewer political prisoners, for example, than Cuba.

"Make no mistake about it: many white South Africans are racists; they deny blacks, Indians, and coloreds basic human rights. But they are not worse than many other regimes around the world.

"South African blacks are the best educated, most urbanized, and among the best off materially of any people on the entire continent of Africa. Still, blacks in South Africa are politically discontented. They have no vote or say in running the government. They also resent the fact that they have significantly lower incomes than their white rulers. Conditions clearly must change in South Africa.

"We all want a just society to evolve in South Africa, even though we may disagree on the best means of achieving that end."

Looking at violent alternatives, Duignan says "the prospects are not good for black guerrillas. South Africa is not a France having to give up Algeria because of discontent at home. Nor is it Angola, where young, drafted, middle-class Portuguese student officers overthrew a colonial empire.

"South African whites support the government. They would be fighting at home for their own survival. Therefore, the army is not likely to rebel.

"The most radical white dissidents are to be found in the churches and universities. They have not and cannot penetrate the army, the administration, and the police. The state machinery is efficient; the ruling groups are confident.

"The whites cannot be appealed to by black nationalism. The record of independent Africa in safeguarding human rights or protecting minorities is too bad to inspire confidence.

"Still guerrillas are being trained in Mozambique, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. The Soviets arm them. There will be guerrilla attacks in the future.

"But they will face difficulties: Invaders must go through a vast, depopulated area before they come to South African towns from Mozambique. Distances are great in South Africa for guerrillas to walk, carrying arms, food, and water. The area is patrolled by men and planes. It will be hard to infiltrate men and arms through Mozambique; it is largely open country, with no jungle to hide in.

"Urban terrorism is certain to escalate, but so far it has been insignificant. Even if the campaign is stepped up, it cannot defeat a strong government. The IRA has not won in Northern Ireland and the PLO has lost in Jordan and Lebanon.

"Urban warfare can hamper industrial societies. It cannot stop them from operating, nor can it destroy the will of the people to resist—Israel, Lebanon, and Ulster are proof of this.

"Guerrillas and terrorists will certainly become a nuisance. There will be small scale attacks on the border; a certain amount of urban terrorism, and perhaps even combined attacks by foreign and African forces from Mozambique, Rhodesia, Botswana, and Zambia.

"But as Israel has shown, guerrilla attacks and multinational forces are not very effective. South Africa's resources are greater than Israel's; its size is much larger, so that a defense in depth is possible.

"South African revolutionaries largely are in the South African Communist Party (SACP) or its front organizations, such as the African National Congress (ANC). Both organizations are banned in South Africa and operate in exile from London, Zambia, Mozambique, and Tanzania.

"The SACP has money and some gifted intellectual leaders. It manipulates a large number of British antiapartheid groups, but its real strength within South Africa appears to be very limited. Guerrillas trained in Eastern Europe and sent in through Mozambique have usually been caught.

(more)

South Africa 4- 4- 4-

"The SACP remains essentially an army without soldiers, riddled by dissensions and jealousies common to exiled parties. It fights with the other major black group, the Pan African Congress (PAC). The ANC and SACP follow Moscow, the PAC follows Peking. Their real revolutionary potential is negligible.

"Historically, civil disobedience and passive resistance campaigns in South Africa have all failed. So have industrial strikes. Labor cannot be mobilized; immigrants ignore the call to strike; and unions are few, weak, not well organized or united.

"Strikes cannot overthrow the South African government; even the British general strike of 1926 was a failure.

"Riots and sabotage have been no more successful. The Soweto riots, boycotts, burning and closing of schools may seem impressive, but they have not affected the basic power structure. Soweto is over 15 miles from Johannesburg; its riots had no direct impact on whites and threatened neither industry nor business.

"The Soweto riots may mark a new revolutionary chapter in South African history, but even the SACP is cautious about this: the state was not endangered, the ruling class is not near collapse, the actions were not nationwide and did not involve rural people; the people remain unarmed.

"The South African government has placed most blacks in segregated townships. They are located miles away from white cities. Government forces can regulate their access routes, electricity, and water supplies.

"Africans live in small houses laid out along straight roads than can easily be controlled by armored cars and helicopters. There are no alleys, backyards, and winding lanes such as those of Algerian cities, where guerrillas can hide.

"Soweto disturbances have continued since 1976, but the latest arrest of 600 people brought relative calm if not compliance. If history offers any precedents, the government crackdown after Sharpsville in 1960 collapsed all overt opposition to the regime.

"This time, black consciousness and the discontent of many youths may keep opposition active. There are far more black college students now than in 1960. But don't be surprised if a mood of despondence and political activity follows in 1978.

"No single African, Indian, or colored leader or group has been able seriously to challenge the system and survive internally since 1880. Through its use of preventive arrests and police informers, the government has been able to remove or neutralize every opposition movement to date. There can be no growth of leadership if it is constantly changing.

"Can a peaceful South Africa then be created in the future? It can, but it will be a difficult task. A successful regime will have to recognize the diversity of South Africa's ethnic, political, and economic groups, and will have to mediate between them.

"The striking differences in status and material wealth between blacks, browns, and whites will gradually have to be reduced. Political power cannot be restricted to whites and to traditional tribal rulers; leadership roles must be shared among all group elites.

"South Africa will have to accept a federal system, but not one based on the homelands concept. All racially discriminatory legislation and practices must be ended.

"Some progress has already been made in this regard. For example, segregation has ended in some hotels, bars, and restaurants. But legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts must also be repealed.

"In short, apartheid must be dismantled. Strong efforts must be made to build a South African consciousness and to stress nationalism based on equality before the law and on equal human rights.

"This complicated, delicate process of accommodation, power-sharing, and leveling can succeed only if all groups agree to cooperate. This will not be easy in a multiracial, ethnically diverse society, a society long dominated by whites and under attack from SACP, ANC and PAC, radical states, and the UN. Nevertheless, there are some grounds for hope."

"In the past month, for example, a series of decisions by an Afrikaner judge in Namibia has essentially dismantled apartheid. Free elections are scheduled there within two months, with a clear prospect that moderate blacks will attain a majority of offices.

"The more radical South West Africa People's Organization will boycott the elections, hoping to achieve power with guns rather than ballots. But both its leaders and opponents agree that SWAPO's strength is no more than 35% of the populace.

"If SWAPO could not overthrow a white minority government, however, its prospects of prevailing over a multiracial, majority regime are not promising.

"These developments could provide a pattern for South Africa in the future."

Duignan's views were expressed in a recent talk to the World Affairs Council of the Mid-Peninsula and a campus interview.